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396 462 [425] Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. [476] The men help each other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

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225 The most common were Balaenoptera intermedia and Balaenoptera patagonica, the former exceeding all others in length and girth (p. 36 /untranslated/). The Yamana always had to expect to be disappointed when a ciyix (Ziphius) was stranded; its fat is not wholesome and has a laxative effect, which is something they well know from ancient experience.

225 476 We cannot speak of an actual chase when a dead whale is slowly washed to shore by the waves. If it is floating within reach, they try to pull it ashore. The dense flock of well-known sea birds announces this happy event to people far and wide, and they come rowing up from all sides. Unafraid, they venture forth far into the open sea and join forces to get the mammoth animal to the nearest beach. They take advantage of a favorable ocean current and line up in one direction. Every man plunges his large harpoon deep into the animal's body and lets the long rope uncoil (Fig. 35). As soon as it becomes taut, he must be very cautious in his canoe. Then every woman paddles her own canoe to the nearest coast while the men pull the whale after them with their rolled-up lassos. Loud shouts bring uniformity into their efforts. When about 20 canoes have assembled, and if the ocean current helps them along, this strange procession slowly approaches the nearest shore. Herewith success has actually been achieved, for neither a heavy sea nor storms can snatch this booty away from the lucky Indians. They keep the animal close to land on the long leather rope of their harpoons. They are even safer if they leap to shore and pull up the whale from there. They try to transfer the animal which is still floating in the water to a flat slope of this beach. They keep it parallel to the coast, and the long lassos of their large harpoons remain taut. If the bone point should become detached, it is once more thrust into the dead body of the animal, and this time deeper. Depending on the force of the current, many men must make sure that the mighty prize is brought quite near to the coast, and they must sometimes continue their vigil during the night, for the restless sea would surely drive it elsewhere or far out again. They wait for a breaker or high tide to deposit the whale with a powerful push onto the beach. Days can go by before this happens. Meanwhile a few people set about cutting large scraps of fat out of the carcass, which they /519/ bring to shore in their boats. Sooner or later the current will deposit it on firm ground. Now they can enjoy their rich booty.

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [859 736] Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 423 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ēruf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 476 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /979/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain prerogative over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
476 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of
593 the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mõtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

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156 577 malevolent humor of overwhelming natural forces, find himself in an embarrassing situation in which he is dependent on the help of any fellow-tribesman who happens to come along. The [476] nomadic way of life in a native region fraught with dangers insistently demands that one person willingly aid another whenever it is necessary (428). A distressing situation which repeatedly

428. Bridges (MM:IX, 216;1875) confirms this: "The wandering habits of the natives result in making them servile to each other. Not knowing whom he may meet in any place, yet having to seek shelter with any one he may find there, a native would find it very awkward thus to meet a man and his friends whose enmity he had incurred, causelessly or otherwise" /cited in English/.

assumes different forms has developed rules and obligations for social intercourse which the Yamana observe very punctiliously, keeping in mind their personal advantage and the public good. Everyone can be sure that fate will soon strike him, perhaps even harder than it is now hitting his neighbor. Sympathy for every fellow-tribesman is very highly developed among our Fuegians, even if the thought of one's self and of praise may have something to do with it.

1. Special Forms of Social Intercourse

576 Among the considerable number of customs and rules that apply to the social behavior of the Yamana, there is a conspicuous absence /1007/ of marked formalities. They meet one another neither noisily nor excitedly, but rather with a definite repression of their really animated feelings of joy and friendship. We Europeans might interpret this cool, impolite way of meeting one another as dullness or lack of feeling if we were not certain of the sincere feeling behind it. This is not to deny that sometimes two good friends reunited after a long separation hurry toward each other with loud shouts, embrace and shake each other as though

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834 alone. In such cases the visitor is supposed to remain standing in front of the hut entrance and from here make known his or her wish, unless they prefer to wait for a more suitable occasion. As a rule, everyone first finds out whether the person to whom he wishes to speak is accompanied by others in the hut before he visits him. In order to prevent any embarrassment or, above all, gossip, women who value their reputations customarily take a child along whenever they enter a strange hut. Nelly Lawrence made it a rule to do this. Although she was the mistress of the house and on each of my four journeys I was a guest of long standing in her house, nevertheless she never visited the room assigned to me unless she was accompanied by at least one of her children. Gertie did the same. If a successful hunter lets his wife distribute some of his booty among the neighboring huts, she observes the prescribed rules (p. 474). It is well known that, in spite of this, a man now and then secretly meets a woman for illicit intercourse, and the persons who arouse justified suspicion are carefully watched. It has been mentioned several times that gifts are never directly given to a woman by a man or to a man by a woman.

574 What we have just said about prescriptions for social intercourse does not mean that it is basically undermined or seriously curtailed. As a matter of fact, frequent visits back and forth are not only a social requirement, but also a very human, psychological one. Under the pressure of the daily food quest the family must, in any case, again and again go their way alone while parents, as well as children, are fully occupied with the tasks assigned them. /1010/ It is only in the evening that they have a few hours of intimate social life, if indeed they are not too tired. In the long run, however, this is not enough: hence, they gladly welcome every visitor who comes to them. He will surely have something new to tell them, report all kinds of incidents, and answer a few questions and inquiries. Both parties are pleased and stimulated by the meeting. Occasionally a family must seek aid among others, for example, when they have lost some implements in a storm, when they lack food or materials for implements, when they find themselves burdened with a helpless sick person, or have suffered loss by death. Since assistance in such cases can be obtained only from other families, they are urgently drawn to them.

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2. More General Forms of Communication

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In the preceding we have described the everyday and more intimate intercourse between individuals and families. In what follows we shall speak of the regulations governing general communication and public order. The mutual relations of the Tomeno are determined by a greater or lesser degree of unselfishness, according to personal disposition and the connection with the other person. I have repeatedly referred to this virtue of the Foregions, for it is much practiced, and in order that it not be lost, it is more emphatically impressed upon the younger generation as a duty than are many other things. Most adults and children have an opportunity to practice it almost daily. A person who should fail in this would fall into hopeless ill-repute and open scorn. Everyone knows that he is closely watched, particularly when he distributes his spoils (p. 314), but it is not altogether out of fear of unfavorable talk that a person sometimes gives so much to others that he has nothing left for himself; he actually wants to show that he is unselfish. Whoever asks a favor of anyone can absolutely count on its being granted, no matter how much personal exertion and unpleasantness is connected with it. It is probably unnecessary to repeat the admonitions pertaining to this which are given the children in the Lifeway. Children, even in their earliest years, are taught to practice generosity willingly, and it is touching to see that even the smallest when they are eating give large pieces to their playmates. The Tomeno feels uplifted and obviously happy to have served another unselfishly (438). It gives him

438. Debbene (b):200 believes: "Among their defects....one can easily note a certain egoism which shows in many of their actions" /translated from Spanish/. It is true that they are not completely free of it. It is an obvious exaggeration, however, to maintain with Loviseto (b):148 or with Bove (c):169 and (g):334: "Selfishness is their dominant character trait." Even the peremn, he says, are solely "governed by

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love of their own ego. How often when I entered a hut did I see the father devouring the food, and women and children with intent eyes, their faces dimmed with hunger, sat beside the husband and father, timidly gathering the crumbs that fell from his meal...." A horrible picture such as could arise only in the wild imagination of a Bovet! He must have been completely blind to the fact that Mother Nature did not scatter food so meagerly there, and everyone, large and small, can in most places conveniently gather it (p. 281). I also wish to refer to the detailed description, "How They Eat" (p. 302).

pleasure to give his guests beautiful presents and /1019/ his neighbors heavy pieces of game. Bridges (b):241 writes pertinently: "The natives are accustomed to go freely to persons who have game or other excess food, in order to obtain part of it, and they always go away satisfied. They never beg for anything, but the purpose of the visit is understood perfectly. They never offer thanks, but on every occasion they are prompt to repay such service" /translated from Spanish/.

We have just shown (p. 877) that gift-giving is actually a well-developed and well-regulated custom. These Indians also help one another by lending various tools and utensils (p. 878). A person is immediately given anything he asks to borrow, and no matter how long he keeps it, the owner never asks that it be returned, although he does not forget it. Also, I never heard the owner pass the other person or say, for example: "Take good care of this article!" Once I observed that someone had to interrupt his work for two days because he had lent his neighbor his iron chisel and did not want to ask for its return. No one, of course, would ask for food, no matter how hungry he is. The obligation to be frugal (pp. 887, 918) and personal pride would forbid it. A calm and optimistic feeling of great assurance gives everyone the happy conviction that he can everywhere count on the best possible help and assistance from the first person he happens to meet! Mutual aid is not limited to near relatives and

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friendly neighbors, but is willingly offered to every fellow-tribesman.

Each of the many individual families is constantly traveling about, not only under the pressure of the daily food quest, but also from a natural wanderlust (p. 363). They move slowly, but nevertheless cover long distances in the course of time. Definite boundaries separate the many local groups (p. 630) and the five dialect groups (p. 190 /untranslated/) from one another. These boundaries may be crossed under certain circumstances, and no visitor from another region can be lawfully prevented from doing so by the local residents. In general every family stays within its narrower home area, if only because they do not like to meet strange groups. It is a universal characteristic of the Yamana to stay away from strangers in the first place or at least to avoid them; they feel constrained in the presence of strangers, and suspicion makes them almost ill (439).

> 439. Bridges (a):210 gives a reason for this which is not quite correct: "These people dare not go where they have no friends, and where they are unknown, as they would most likely be soon killed"/cited in English/. We have repeatedly mentioned that certain circumstances make it permissible for anyone to travel in the territory of another dialect group.

/1020/ The ceaseless travel of individual families who thus meet one another and whose travel routes intersect partly explains the remarkably good propagation of news, which works invisibly. Everything that happens and any event that is in any way noteworthy are circulated far and wide and with a speed that sometimes seemed inexplicable to me. This much is certain, the Yamana lack such means of communication as loud calls or drumbeats. I cannot reliably state whether or not they give each other digital signs within a visible range, but I infer this from careful observations. Every adult learns what has happened within the confines of a wide area and usually without much delay. Most news, of course, is communicated from mouth to mouth. The facts are inevitably altered

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202 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ukǟ̆ali uškū̆, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yékamuš, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kēmbē̆be uškū̆, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, méten uškū̆, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wū̆ru uškū̆, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d):263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

•476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 235). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,